2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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ing a heavy cane and increasing their tonnage rather than in raising the quality of the cane. There is a movement under way to change the payment method to payment by percentage of sucrose, but it seems to be gaining little headway.[7]

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The factory of the Usina São Pedro is directed personally by two members of the Conde family, while most other factories have a paid employee, a general manager, who is the industrial counterpart of the general overseer. There are approximately eighty salaried employees in this factory, who are paid by the day and who work all year long. The factory operates from September till February--the harvest season--in two shifts of twelve hours each. During the harvest season over a hundred migrant workers are added to the payroll under the direction of the contractor, and usually work on the endless belt and in the unloading operations.

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The resident factory worker, in addition to receiving a house, also has the right to electric light and to firewood. These workers are trained in the factory, and many of them have been there for a long time. The Usina São Pedro is especially proud of its men, many of whom remained there during the war when they were being enticed away with higher wages by the federal government to build military installations. The Usina São Pedro has experienced no labor difficulties as have some other larger factories, which have had riots and demonstrations caused by labor unions. This is due partly to the small size of the factory, and partly to the continued atmosphere of paternalism, to which many other factories are now making a determined effort to return.

Thus paternalism stands out as one of the major factors in the complicated organizational hierarchy of plantation life. The former master is now simply the patron, but in this role he carries out almost the same functions as did the master in relation to the well-being of his slaves. The patron of today has the same ethical responsibilities toward his workmen as did the former master. In general these responsibilities include care of the workmen beyond the mere payment of a salary, such as care of the sick and the old. Paternalism today is found at its highest degree on the private, family-run plantation and at its lowest degree on the overseer-run, corpora-

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7. Jayme V. B. Machado, Industria acucareira na Bahia (Bahia, 1950).

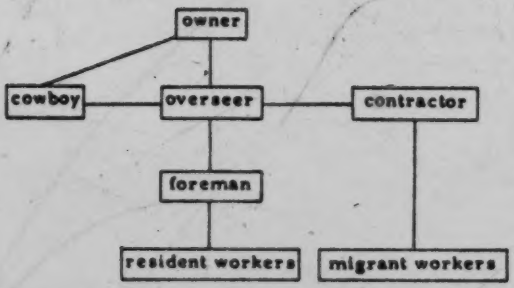

Fig. 1. Hierarchical diagram of the private plantation (Fazenda das Moças)

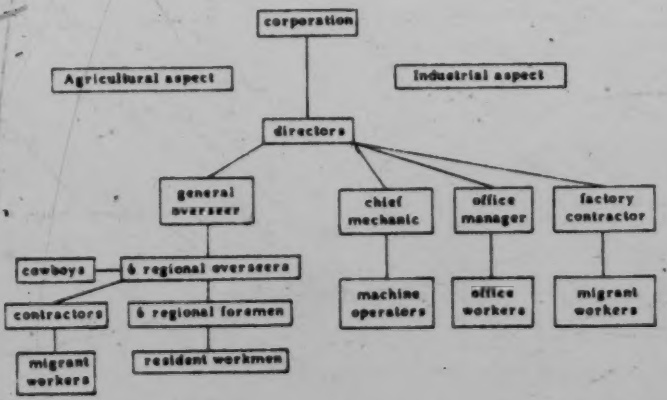

Fig. 2. Hierarchical diagram of the usina system (Usina São Pedro)

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[Town Life]

Because there are only 265 acres of manioc under cultivation in the entire county, production is far below the amount of farina consumed, and it is necessary to import the milled manioc tuber which constitutes the major dietary item of the people. In 1951 a municipal law was passed prohibiting the exportation of farina. Three times during the author's stay in the town there was a pronounced lack of farina, when there was almost none to be bought and its price per liter rose from one to three cruzeiros. That year's drought was also partly responsible for the shortage.

Bananas are the only commercial export crop of the gardeners. There are approximately 15,000 banana trees in the county, producing for the commercial market an annual production of 177,000 arms (cachos) of bananas, providing an income of Cr$500.000,00. The fruits are sold to a middleman from Bahia who knows most of the gardeners in the area. Once a week, or every two weeks, he arrives at the town in a large sailboat to receive the fresh bananas, which he then takes to Bahia and sells. Sometimes a gardener sells an arm of bananas to a woman in town who then resells them to townspeople. Few people in town have to buy them, however, for each household has at least one banana tree in the back yard. An acre of land supports about 144 banana trees, which when well cared for produce 1,500 arms a year. The fruits are sold in cargoes of fifty arms at Cr$160,00 a cargo, so that one acre earns about Cr$5.000,00 a year. This sum is almost entirely profit, for gardeners do most of their own work, except when they have too much land for one man to take care of properly. Hired help is paid in accordance with the service performed: ten cruzeiros for cutting fifty arms of bananas, twenty for transporting them to the dock if the gardener does not have his own animals, and a hundred cruzeiros an acre for "cleaning," i.e., cutting down and burning old stalks and leaves and keeping the weeds cut down.

Manioc presents a slightly different case, for the raw product must be processed before it is consumed. The manioc root from which farina is made is the poisonous variety and must be peeled and grated, pressed to remove the juice, and then toasted. The final product is a white powder, fine or coarse depending upon the type of grater used. Most of the local product is a coarse type (farinha de guerra). One of the gardeners has a flour house where the tubers are converted into flour. He mills his own manioc there and lets others use the machinery, charging them one liter of farina out of each ten they produce.

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trate and oversee most of the operations. This type of relationship has proved so satisfactory that up to date there have been no strikes, and no labour movements, or unions formed among the workmen of São Pedro. The length of time the technicians and other workmen of the *usina* have remained in their employ, refusing employment in other *usinas* and other occupations, has been a matter of pride to the owners of São Pedro.

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It is on the plantations belonging to the *usina* that the white owner-*mestiço* worker personal relations are least close. The *usina* owners are able to make only occasional tours of inspection of the plantations, and therefore have little personal contact with the workers. However, the administrator has in many respects taken the place of the owner. He is the only man on the plantation with authority, and all complaints and requests for favours or help must be presented to him. In one case, an administrator has been on the same plantation for 26 years, and is well-known for the 'court' he holds. Once a year he gives an immense party for the entire community, and people from all four classes attend. He is wanted as godfather for the children of the workmen, and as *compadre* in their marriages. Nevertheless, the administrator is as much an employee of the *usina* as is the worker, and while the administrator can and does assume some of the attitudes and responsibilities of the owner, he cannot assume them all. However, it is a frequent saying among the white-owner class that the real owners are the administrators, for they are the group closest to the workers and to the land. A plantation with a poor administrator is not only a poor producer, but also means hardship for the *moradores*; a poor administrator will take no interest in them, and take little care of them.

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In other areas of the Recôncavo, where the *usinas* are larger and more industrialized and where no owner resides either at the *usina* or on one of the plantations, but lives always in Salvador, there is only a paid representative of the corporation at the *usina*. In such large industrial units the personal element is almost entirely lacking both at the *usina* and on the company-owned plantations. There have been cases of labour difficulties, strikes, violence and the intrusion of political groups. In several instances, there are efforts today, on the owner's part to re-establish personal contact with mill and field workers, even on the largest of the corporation *usinas* and plantations.

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VII. The relations between people of different physical types in Vila Recôncavo and on the surrounding sugar plantations have grown out of the plantation-slave system which flourished in the region about a century ago. Many patterns and attitudes formed in that epoch persist even today in the town and on the privately-owned plantations in the vicinity.